

3 INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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FROM: Athens

TO: Secretary of State

NO: SECTO 34, May 5, 3 A.M. (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

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ACTION DEPARTMENT SECTO 34, INFORMATION BONN 24

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Elijah Kelly Jr.
Date: 4-9-91 10

In discussion today between Kohler and State Secretary Carstens, latter suggested specific language changes in our "draft principles" paper along lines of more general discussion this subject between Secretary and Schroeder at luncheon meeting May 3. Balance of present telegram therefore covers essentially same substance as portion of talk between Foreign Ministers on Berlin negotiating position. Meeting yesterday of which full memorandum of conversation being pouched was, however, devoted largely to discussion of recent leaks in Bonn, relation to German internal political situation, and improvement of consultative procedures between Federal Republic and US.

Carstens made three general observations:

- 1) He suggested that question of whether and when to give revised "principle paper" to Soviets should be left open for moment. As he had indicated, Schroeder felt that if there is chance of agreement with Soviets in near future, we might then give them revised paper. If there is no such chance, then it should be held back lest Western tactical position be weakened.

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2) As Schroeder had likewise said to Secretary, he felt it important that we talk to Soviets regarding possibility of improving conditions in East Germany. He would not say how this could be introduced into paper itself, but German Government was anxious that this point be stressed and left to US discretion how best to make it.

3) As to points not specifically covered in paper, Germans had received explanation from Dowling as to why they had been omitted and this was now better understood. Omissions, nevertheless, created internal problems in Federal Republic. It was not necessary to decide now how this matter should be handled, but Federal Government hoped that we would give thought to problem and consider means of best assuring Germans at appropriate time.

On second point, Kohler agreed it was impossible use relevant language in "principles paper". He noted, however, that we have already made a number of statements to Soviets that, in fact, a basic problem is weakness and unacceptability to population of East German Regime. Since we know Federal Republic is especially interested, we will keep point particularly in mind.

Kohler noted that we had instructed Ambassador Dowling to explain rationale of US approach to German authorities, since there had seemed to be continuing misconceptions on this. If we ever get to point of agreement on paper with Soviets, which is not likely, then people will inevitably ask about failure to cover such matters as presence of troops, ties between Federal Republic and West Berlin, et cetera, and we will have to say something about our position on these matters. In context of "principles paper", however, we are not trying to negotiate on points which are non-negotiable to both sides.

Referring to the specific points of language which Schroeder had mentioned, Carstens noted that Chancellor himself had been first to raise fear that committee of Foreign Minister's deputies seemed to be moving toward tripartite Western directorate
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of kind to which he was strongly opposed. This was true particularly in connection with functions of committee under Section 4 of "principles paper" dealing with nonaggression. Germans, therefore, suggested that simplest way to handle problem would be to add following language "if and when matters are to be discussed in which they have direct responsibility" at end of second paragraph of preamble.

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FROM: Athens

TO: Secretary of State

NO: SECTO 34, May 5, 3 A.M. (SECTION TWO OF TWO)

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Reviewed by: Elijah Kohler Jr.
Date: 4-9-91

Mr. Kohler said he first wanted to say that Chancellor could be assured that his feeling on subject of tripartite directorate was no stronger than ours. We have had unremitting pressure on this subject since French memorandum of 1958 which preceded Khrushchev November ultimatum by some months. We have been suffering from both ultimatums since. Carstens remarked that it was equally difficult to change mind of either Khrushchev or De Gaulle.

Carstens said his government had noted absence of any reference in paper giving all-German responsibilities to committee of Foreign Minister's deputies. Mr. Kohler commented that this was generally implied under the language of preamble. Carstens said wished to give specific function in this connection to committee and suggested following new language for Section 2(B) of revised "principles paper":

"Future negotiations: they agree that the committee of Foreign Minister's deputies should consider all adequate steps to make progress toward realizing this right. It might also consider the possibility of establishing mixed technical commissions, consisting of officials designated by the

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authorities in West and East Germany, for such matters as: to promote mutually beneficial economic exchanges and to remove existing restrictions concerning the free movement of persons in Germany, including those imposed on cultural and technical contacts".

After noting that revised 2(B) also reflected German feeling that, on balance, it would be preferable to eliminate third technical commission entirely, Carstens suggested that Section 4(C) be amended to read as follows: "In the meantime they declare they will not themselves use or support the use of force to change the external and internal borders or demarcation lines of Germany, including those of West Berlin, and they note with approval declarations by German authorities in the same sense." Carstens also said would wish to eliminate "and prerogatives" from Section 5(A) of paper.

As NATO Ministerial Session beginning, meeting terminated at this point without time for additional comment. However, Carstens and Kohler agreed to talk again on subject as opportunity arose during course of NATO meetings.

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